DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 091 063 PS 007 245

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TITLE Origins and Early History of the Parent Cooperative Nursery School Movement in America.
PUB DATE Oct 72
NOTE 99p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$4.20 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Child Rearing; *Educational History; Educational Innovation; *Nursery Schools; Parent Participation; Parent Role; *Parent School Relationship; *Womens Studies; Working Women
IDENTIFIERS *Parent Cooperative Nursery Schools

ABSTRACT

More than half of the paper is devoted to an informal account of child rearing in the 1920's (as influenced by the behaviorist psychologist, John Watson), and a perspective on the place of women in American society as reflected in the popular press of the twenties. The Children's Community, the first parent coop in California is described in detail, and a brief outline of the growth of the parent cooperative movement is included. A special section focuses on the life of Katherine Whitestone, principal pionner of the parent cooperative movement in U.S. and Canada. (MG)

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ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARENT COOPERATIVE NURSERY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

by

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October 1972

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INTRODUCTION

Today, newspapers, radio, magazines and television alike, all tell the American public that it is in trouble; in trouble at home with corrupt and oppressive human relationships and environmental decay; in trouble abroad with a war that has been condemned by nearly every country in the world. Is it any wonder then, that so belabored a citizenry seizes upon panaceas? Modern messiahs have been preaching a clatter of imperatives: "The wonderful new...!" "Change is bad!" "Clean up the environment!" "Eradicate drugs!" "Down with hippies!" "Equal rights for women, minorities, the elderly, the hippies, the straights...!" "Let them go to work!" "Human services cannot cope." "Too much money is being spent." "We must have more money for...." "The society has become too permissive." "Persons arrested are being cruelly and unjustly treated." "Better lock 'em up." "Better set 'em free." "Children should be disciplined." (Meaning punished.) "Children should be allowed to grow in 'freedom'." (Meaning they should be spared the sufferings I have endured.) Here, at last, we find agreement among the public. Educating, training, brain-washing, liberating, whatever key phrase is used, the notion is to "Get 'em early."

Early Childhood Education is seen as the panacea that will liberate women, (by establishing child care centers), abolish poverty, (by effectively teaching academic and social skills for getting and holding jobs); and generally pull us out of the mess we are in by developing a citizenry that is more competent and altruistic than the one we now have. The panacea of pre-school education is attractive to educators because it offers a major change without upsetting the customary way of conducting public education. It's like adding a new wing onto an old house. The original core remains untouched but the entire family has a sense of exhilaration, at the novelty, and change of format. It may be argued here that the lift in morale may, in fact, change the basic personality and behavior of the family, of the school system, of the society. And it may.

Is there some historical precedent for such an expansion of early childhood education? In many ways a parallel may be drawn with an earlier decade, the 1920's, when the nursery school movement began in the United States. A major war had taken place, the economy was in an inflationary era, (and about to sharply decline), psychology was emerging as a major discipline that influenced people's daily lives, and women, though recently "emancipated," were still complaining. The intent of this paper is to discuss the growth of the parent cooperative nursery school movement in the social and historical context of the America of the twenties, and to examine the first parent cooperative nursery school in California, the

Children's Community. Such examination is aided by the fortunate circumstance that Katherine Whiteside Taylor, the principal pioneer of the parent cooperative movement in North America, has graciously and kindly consented to numerous conversations about her personal experiences and career.[1] Since she initiated one of the first parent co-ops in an attempt to cope with her own life setting, these conversations are valuable firsthand impressions, especially as her attempt struck a responsive chord in the minds of thousands of women in the United States and Canada.

CHILD REARING IN THE TWENTIES

Behaviorism

The prevailing method of child rearing in the twenties, very much in vogue with American middle class parents, was a severe, clock watching concentration on habit formation. This vogue was promoted by a psychologist, John Broadus Watson. Dr. Watson is considered the founder of Behaviorism, a psychological school of thought that addressed itself to the observable manifestations of human activity, and rejected introspection and other subjective data as too mystical. In his famous book, Behaviorism, Watson rejects consciousness as the subject of psychology.

> Behaviorism on the contrary holds that the subject matter of human psychology is the behavior or activities of the human being. Behaviorism claims that "consciousness" is neither a definable nor a usable concept; that it is merely another word for the "soul" of more ancient times. The old psychology is thus dominated by a kind of subtle religious philosophy.[2]

He argues that the soul is a concept made up by "Certain individuals who in primitive society declined to work with their hands, to go out hunting, to make flints, to dig for roots, became keen observers of human nature." Such persons, medicine men, soothsayers or prophets attempted to control the people through fear.

> The individual who functions as a medicine man in the narrow family group is, of course, always the father. In the larger group God or Jehovah takes the place of the family father. Thus even the modern child from the beginning is confronted by the dicta of medicine men--be they the father, the soothsayer of the village, the God or Jehovah.[3]

Watson proposes to correct this by making psychological development highly visible, nothing supernatural, nothing like feelings, hopes, or aspirations. From birth onward, the child will be trained by a program of habit formation, uncomplicated by sentimentality.

This fashion in child rearing was the method taught to Katherine Whiteside Taylor when her first child was born. It influenced an entire generation, that reversed the point of view. Women who have been part of the American middle class, have raised children, and are over 50 years old, speak with emotion about their regrets over this method of child rearing. They recall how harsh it was, how they suffered through withholding warmth, refraining from holding their babies, not feeding hungry babies because the time wasn't correct, not letting children suck their thumbs, how rigid it all was etc. etc. Many of these children knew, if they knew nothing else, that this harsh method was <u>not</u> how they were going to raise their won children. Instead of being overly rigid and giving too much direction, this second generation gave too little direction to their own children and were overly permissive. What many of them have been frightened of has been the possibility of making their own

children suffer in the way that they themselves had suffered. In my own experiences as a nursery school director, parent after parent would tell me that she was not going to do with her children what was done unto her. Many parents were so permissive as to withhold information from their children about cultural requirements for acceptable public behavior, accepted language use and dress, because these parents had had suffered from overly rigid requirements. Third generation children then suffered in another way; these children suffered from rejection in the community because they did not know how to fit into the community norms.

John B. Watson based much of his thinking on the work of Pavlov and of Edward L. Thorndike. The Pavlovian work which influenced Watson were the conditioned reflex experiments, the most famous of which describes a dog, observed to salivate at the sight of meat, which sight was accompanied by the sound of a bell, and eventually was observed to salivate at the sound of the bell with no meat in sight.[4] Watson's debt to Thorndike is related to Thorndike's connectionist learning theory which demonstrates that a desired response is elicited when it is associated with a specific stimulus. He demonstrated this by observing the behavior of kittens as they tried to escape from simple boxes. The kittens gradually eliminated random, non-productive movements in favor of a smooth error-free procedure.[5]

Watson started work in physiology and psychology with

animals, sensory and maze learning of rats, and homing mechanisms of terns. He made careful observations in the field as well as in the laboratory.[6] At Johns Hopkins where he received a professorship, Watson continued his work in comparative psychology and infant development.[7] His observations were painstakingly done and careful records were kept, but his interpretations were strongly influenced by his own personality and opinions. In his writings and speeches he made an enormous and unjustified leap from laboratory observations to child rearing.

Behaviorism, according to Watson, holds that "the subject matter of psychology is the behavior or activities of the human being."[8] With this statement Watson diverges from previous and current psychological thought by rejecting the concept of an inner life which cannot be observed from outward behavior. Consciousness, according to Watson, is a non-existent construct, another word for soul, which smacks of mysticism and religion, and is based upon superstition and the desire of lazy people to control others by witchcraft, religion, psychoanalysis and other delusions.[9] Even thought, according to Watson, is vestigal speech evidenced by minute muscular movements in the larynx. This aspect of his theory inspired Edward C. Tolman to dub Watson, a "muscle-twitch psychologist."[10] This was also a departure from the current emphasis by Thorndike and G. Stanley Hall of the importance of heredity in the competence and personality of the individual. According to Watson, the influence of

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heredity was almost nil. Except for obvious, grossly deficient individuals, the entire course of human life is determined by environmental forces. In 1925, in Behaviorism, he rejects the concept of instincts in favor of unlearned responses such as sneezing, hiccoughing, crying, erection of the penis, voiding of urine, defaecation, eye movements, smiling, body and skeletal responses, standing and walking, vocal behavior and so on.[11] But by 1928 in Psychological Care of Infant and Child he admitted that there might be such instincts as fear of sudden loss of support, or a loud noise, and rage at restriction of bodily movements.[12] This apparent rage may be seen in a picture on page 34 of his book. Certainly the infant looks distressed, but the only rage I could be sure of was my own at the sight of a tiny scrawny newborn with its mouth wide open, eyes tightly shut, and limbs contracted in rage(?) terror(?), while its head in one position by a pair of giant hands that spanned the infant's head, neck and shoulders. This anti-hereditarian stance, rejection of most instincts, and of an inner mental life, was also contrary to Dewey's view of intrinsic motivation, development proceding from the child's basic impulses and interests. Watson comments:

> Professor John Dewey and many other educators have been insisting for the last twenty years upon a method of training which allows the child to develop from within. This is really a doctrine of mystery. It teaches that there are hidden springs of activity, hidden possibilities of unfolding within the child which must be waited for until they appear and then be fostered and tended. It has made us lose our opportunity to implant and then to encourage a real eagerness at an early age.[13]

In a certain sense Watson missed Dewey's point. Dewey was in agreement with Watson that activity is the best vehicle for learning, and Dewey was strongly in favor of exposure to various kinds of vocations as part of elementary school education.[14] Meantime, Piaget, almost unknown in the United States, was in Switzerland quietly developing a cognitive theory that, in agrement with Watson, made learning depend upon the child's interaction with the environment, but in contrast with Watson, Piaget posited a predetermined unfolding of intellectual structures that enabled a child to move from one level to another.[15]

Watson, at that time was one of many psychologists who were trying to develop a comprehensive theory that accounted for psychological development. Among current psychologists, Watson's theory is close to that of Skinner in placing the emphasis upon observable behavior and the feasibility of training (Skinner says engineering) the individual to become the sort of person the trainer desires. In Beyond Freedom and Dignity, Skinner proposes to construct a highly desirable world in which humans may live comfortably together in a healthy environment and without the necessity of resorting to war and destructive behavior. He proposes to accomplish this by careful techniques of reenforcing and shaping behavior.[16] This is not very different from Watson's concluding paragraph in Behaviorism:

> I think behaviorism does lay a foundation for a saner living. It ought to be a science that prepares men and

> ...men for understanding the first principles of their own behavior. It ought to make men and women eager to rearrange their own lives and especially eager to prepare themselves to bring up their own children in a healthy way....the kind of rich and wonderful individual we should make of every healthy child if only could let it shape itself properly and then provide it a universe unshackled by legendary folklore of happenings thousands of years ago; unhampered by disgraceful political history; free of foolish customs and conventions which have no significance in themselves, yet which ham the individual like steel bands....I am not asking people to go out to some God-forsaken place, form a colony...and live a communal life.[17]

(Skinner also suggests a commune in Walden II[18] and a behavioristic freedom.)

> ...I am trying to dangle a stimulus in front of you, a verbal stimulus which if acted upon will gradually change this universe. For the universe will change if you bring up your children, not in the freedom of the libertine, but in behavioristic freedom--a freedom which we cannot even picture in words, so little do we know of it. Will not these children in turn, with their better ways of living and thinking, replace us as society and in turn bring up their children in a still more scientific way, until the world finally becomes a place fit for human habitation.

In a footnote Watson says,

> I am not arguing for free anything....The behaviorist...would like to develop his world of people from birth on so that their speech and their bodily behavior could equally well be exhibited freely everywhere without running afoul of group standards.[19]

Both Skinner and Watson reject the concept of autonomous man. They both want to reshape the world via operant conditioning. Skinner is not clear about who should do the shaping and specifically what kinds of behaviors should be sought after. Watson on the otherhand prefers to bring up children in the laboratory away from their sentimental

parents (behaviorism). This statement, after severe criticism was modified to teaching parents how to use principles of conditioned behavior, and he wrote a how-to-do-it book that was published in 1928, Psychological Care of Infant and Child.[20]

It is interesting to speculate about Watson's popularity in the midst of psychological thought that was strongly hereditarian in its orientation, and psychoanalytical thought as set forth by Freud with a strong emphasis on the unconscious repression of thoughts and events, and the importance of such constructs as ego, superego and id. There was, of course overlap with Dewey's activity-oriented school programs, but Watson refused to consider the innerlife of a child, instead he thingified humans. His point of view did have a more egalitarian tone than those who attached importance to inheritance, or to the social Darwinists who felt that those who were born incompetent would fall by the wayside, there wasn't much point in wasting effort and money on basically inferior individuals. Watson on the other hand, offered to take any infant who was physically fit, and mold that child into any predetermined kind of adult. In the United States, during the Progressive era, when reformists were at their height; the jazz age was encouraging a new standard for woman (even if it was mostly talk). It was encouraging to think that everyone, regardless of circumstance of birth had an equal chance to flourish and prosper.

The twenties was a period of infatuation with the scientific method. Science had introduced into medicine, improved obstetrics techniques, diotheria toxoids, pasteurized milk, and increased knowledge of vitamins and nutrition and drastically cut the infant mortality rate and gave parents the opportunity to focus upon the quality of their children's lives rather than their survival alone. Parents dared plan for their children to grow up. It was an age of technological growth. The radio was becoming more than a curiosity, Lindberg had flown across the ocean, "nearly everyone" had indoor plumbing and telephones. Although the public was enchanted with the scientific method, it did not fully understand some of its basic tenets. For instance, the success of experiemtnal science depended upon its replicability. That is, the ability of someone else to follow the same procedures with an exact duplicate of materials, and show the same results. Instead, the public attached itself to certain attributes or techniques that were necessary to, but not sufficient, for the scientific method: careful observation and record keeping, the accumulation of quantitative data and a sprinkling of variables, far more than in the laboratory of the physical scientists, was continuously exhorting itself to become more "scientific". By this, many of them meant more objective, more distant in their sympathies and appreciation of the complexities of the human situation.. Watson was a past master at closing his eyes to intervening variables in child rearing. He thought he knew what needed to be done and proceeded to

write books, give speeches and describe the popular press directions for human conduct and child rearing.

As a personality Watson was forthright, even zealous. The New York Post said he was "...the exponent of an evangelical religion, and he preaches it with all of the dogmatic zest and vulgarity of Billy Sunday."[21] He was, according to Anglo Saxon standards, extremely handsome, his Bachrach photograph in Current Biography looks intently at the viewer, sincerely, vigorously, almost hyphotically.[22] He was a very persuasive man who was forced by circumstances to leave the academic world and enter into a vocation that used persuasion as its principle tool. A scandal with one of his laboratory assistants while he was a Johns Hopkins, resulted in a divorce that was publicly discussed in the East Coast newspapers. The trustees at Johns Hopkins were too shocked to retain him on the faculty, and he could not find employment in academic circles. Eventually, he accepted a position as a consumer research analyst and then became vice-president of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency.[23] All of this was consistent with the sort of person he was, one who observed and attempted to manipulate human behavior. The times were right, the public was susceptible, and Watson was highly skilled. He wrote well and addressed himself to a popular audience, he spoke well and publicly debated his biases. The articles on child management that were printed in the women's magazines reflected this no-nonsense approach. These were the magazines that Katherine Whiteside Taylor and her peers read and took seriously.

Advice in the Popular Press

It is interesting to take a look at what the popular periodicals were publishing about children during these years. Table I, page 15, summarizes listings in the Reader's Guide to Periodic Literature, Volume IV, 1915 to 1918, and Volume V, 1925 to 1928;[25] 562 articles in former 3 year period and 702 articles in the latter. The struggles for child welfare and labor reform are reflected in both volumes, particularly in the 1915-1918 years, where 47 per cent of the articles were devoted to these subjects. Child welfare and protection in terms of improved medical care and nutrition made some progress by 1918, but the Children's Crusade had a long way to go, even by 1928, in reforming Child Labor Laws.[42] It is a cliche to say that change is more difficult when large sums of money (e.g. profits) depend upon the status quo.

The next most popular subject for attention in the magazines was one that is known to come and go with the fashion, child management and discipline. Both volumes show a steady 17 per cent and 19 per cent. Although the proportion was about the same, note that there was a rise in the number of articles from 93 to 132; lots of parents wondered and worried about raising their children. Reading and books apparently excited more comment during the 1915-1918 period than in the 1925-1928, when only 5 per cent of the articles discussed children's literary habits. But notice during the

Table 1

CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLES LISTED IN THE READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

	Vol. IV, 1915-1918		Vol.VII, 1925-1928	
Areas of concern	Number of articles	Percent of total	Number of articles	Percent of total
Child study	11	2%	38	5%
Growth and development	0	0	19	3%
Welfare & protection	121	22%	69	10%
Child labor	144	25%	146	21%
Health and hygiene	18	3%	107	15%
Nutrition	18	3%	38	5%
Management & discipline	93	17%	132	19%
Mental development	4	1%	4	1%
Mental handicap	23	4%	25	4%
Gifted mentality	11	2%	18	3%
Children's gardens	19	3%	6	1%
Reading & books	62	11%	36	5%
Nursery school	0	0	28	4%
Day nurseries	0	0	6	1%
TOTALS	562	100%	702	100%

latter period a 12 per cent rise in the interest in health and hygiene, from 3 per cent in 1915-1918 to 15 per cent during the years 1923-1928.

A look at the text of some of the articles printed in magazines during the twenties show that in post-war America, fathers were returning home, and some of them had some comments about the apparent lack of discipline on the civilian domestic scene. Major John H. Earle turned his family into a military unit and then wrote in Good Housekeeping about his accomplishments.

> The first thing we discovered was that the household must function on a definite time schedule. This meant we must all ride on time and that the mother must see that all meals were served on time to the minute. We realized at once that we as grown-ups, would also have to operate on schedule if the scheme were to be successful....A time schedule was then drawn up in the form of General Order No. 1.

General Order No. 1 begins with Reveille at 6:30 AM six days a week, and on Sunday, the family is allowed to sleep in, until 7:30 AM. The rest of the schedule is arranged in 15 minute blocks for excercise, bathing and dressing, policing rooms, leaving for school, reporting home from school, duties per assignment, etc. A half hour of play is permitted after dinner. The younger children have taps at 7:00 PM, the older ones at 8:45 PM every night.[25]

Edgar A. Guest in 1923 (The American Magazine) describes suffering mental torture as he listens to his new baby cry and is forbidden by the person in charge to pick it up. That would spoil the baby, it must learn not to bother the

grown-ups.

F. Scott Fitzgerald in 1923 deplores the nervous, worrying mother. He advocates for mothers a leave-'em-alone-I-have-my-own-life-to-live policy. That life of course is one of domesticity. No point in trying to understand her husband's business or to develop a career for herself. The mother must provide the physical necessities for her children, but no sentimentality is allowed, she must be a companion.[27]

The emotional climate of the home was to be objective, clear cut, the children's bodies carefully attended to, children well nourished; but warmth and affection was frowned upon, even feared.

Watson's Advice to Parents

Watson's clearest, most articulate exposition of this point of view is contained in a book that was published five years after he left Johns Hopkins and the academic world, and was well established in the advertising world. That book, mentioned earlier in this paper, Psychological Care of Infant and Child, was dedicated to "The First Mother Who Brings Up a Happy Child."[28] The reviews were mixed. BookMan said, "Dr. Watson's book truly does what it sets out to do--provide a clear and simple guide that any parent can use to give an infant the safest kind of psychological start."[29]

The International Journal of Ethics was more enthusiastic.

> The aim to instruct is constantly, and very skilfully tempered by the aim to make the instruction effective for practice. Few prejudices

> are allowed to stand in the way of a scientific facing of the child's problems from the point of view of his future happiness, rather than the happiness of parents. The whole presentation is remarkably sane in its orientation. Socialization is never lost sight of, but there is a conspicuous absence of illusory sanctions for the emphasis. Instruction is very specific where experimental data are available--in regard to removing undesirable responses as well as to setting desirable responses. Meager as experimental data still are, a page motivated by this empirical temper is worth books of previous pious hope.[30]

The N.Y. Evening Post was not carried away. It said,

> This volume of Dr. Watson does not satisfy the expectations with which it must have been awaited, if the jacket blurb is to be taken literally. It is another item in the bulk of recent books, which try to popularize psychology for everyday use.... The present book is a very naive one, written for very naive or very crude parents.[31]

The Springfield Republican was also unimpressed.

> It is an enormously depressing book to read if, one happens to be the parent of a young child. Dr. Watson wishes that they are wholly responsible for the personality and character which their children will develop and that heredity counts for practically nothing....While very few parents could swallow the bulk of Dr. Watson's theories, most mothers and fathers can find in this book hints and suggestions which will be of value in the training of their children.[32]

The first chapter of the book attempts to lend an aura of scientific authenticity by describing observations of infant behavior. The baby, barely sitting, is tested for handedness. Watson disapproves of lefthandedness and advocates training a child to be right handed.[33] Pictures on pages 24 and 25 show Baby to be unafraid of fire, or rabbits or rats or dogs. Good enough. Then on page 26 there is a picture of the baby with a blanket being jerked from under him. Baby

is crying. On pages 23 to 31, Baby has been pictured conditioned to be afraid of rabbit and a fur muff, and Santa Claus, and at the end of the chapter Watson concludes that all fear of loud noise and dropping are conditioned, and by the same token, capacity, talent, temperament and personality can be conditioned and the rest of the book tells the mother how to do it.

Chapter two is a fairly reasoned discussion of how to avoid making the baby fearful and how to decondition him from the fears he does have. He disapproves of spanking but rapping on the fingers is all right for things you don't want baby to touch.

Chapter three is a sermon against "The Dangers of Too Much Mother Love". Watson does not define the word "love," but in context it appears to be synonymous with pleasurable sensory sensations.

> Our laboratory studies show that we can bring out a love response in a newborn child by just one stimulus--by stroking its skin. The more sensitive the skin area, the more marked the response. These sensitive areas are the lips, ears, back of the neck, nipples and the sex organs. If the child is crying, stroking these areas will often cause the child to become quiet or even to smile. Nurses and Mothers have learned this method of quieting an infant by the trial and error process. They pick the child up, pat it, soothe it, kiss it, rock it, walk with it, dangle it on the knee and the like. All of this kind of petting has the result of gently stimulating the skin. Unscrupulous nurses have learned the very direct result which comes from stroking the sex organs. When the child gets older, the fondling, petting, patting, rocking of the body will bring out a gurgle or a coo, open laughter, and extension of the arms for the embrace.[34]

The usual fondling of a baby begins to sound like a review of an "X" rated movie. The adult who has been overly petted tends toward invalidism, whining and trying to elicit mothering attention. He has been robbed of learning how to conquer the world. Mother has done everything for him. In answer to the question, "Should the mother never kiss the baby?"

> There is a sensible way of treating children. Treat them as though they were young adults. Dress them, bathe them with care and circumspection. Let your behavior always be objective and kindly firm (sic). Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit on your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say good night. Shake hands with them in the morning. Give them a pat on the head if they have made an extraordinarily good job of a difficult task.[35]

In other words treat your children as though they were pets. Condition them to obedience and reward them with a pat on the head. I have seen guide dogs for the blind trained this way.

The rest of the book outlines a strict schedule, night and day. With good sense Watson deplores the complicated clothing that was imposed upon babies in the twenties and he urges loose simple garments that fasten in the front so that the child can learn to do his own buttoning. Thumb and finger sucking is verboten. The infant's hands must be kept tucked under the covers at night. When he is older, his hands must be kept above the covers lest he masturbate. Thumb sucking is bad for the formation of the mouth and teeth and it brings too many diseases by carrying germs into the mouth. The dangers of a child's own body are manifold, constant

vigilance is required to avoid impending disaster.

Counter Trend

According to Celia Stendler, in 1920, 100 per cent of the articles in Ladies Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion, and Good Housekeeping reflected this point of view.[36] My own sampling showed the beginning of a counter trend. In 1926 Josephine Kenyon advised mothers of disobedient children to try to understand why they disobey. In other words to recognize an inner life of the child. Blind obedience was discouraged. "We are only human we parents, and the iron hand in our home may give us the sense of power we have failed to get in the outside world, but it will leave its mark on the child."[37]

In 1921, Miriam Scott wrote in Good Housekeeping on the value of play. She describes the important learning that occurs through play and stresses the necessity of plenty of well chosen materials for the learning child to have at all times.[38] Watson uses play as a sort of recess, not to be wasted, but to be spent in absorbing the health giving sunshine and staying out of the adult's way. A quiet session with a few crayons was permitted before bed.

In summary, most of the articles in popular magazines during the twenties had environmentalist behavioristic tones, but not all of them. At the same time, Thorndike's emphasis on the heritability of personal attributes and the Social Darwinism of G. Stanley Hall still held their ground in intellectual thought. Spokesmen on behalf of the inner life of the child

came from a Freudian psychoanalytic point of view, and in education from Dewey's concept of growth from within.

Still another method of educating young children, emerging at this time, was the Montessori movement. Maria Montessori, the first woman physician in Italy[39] became interested in teaching mentally deficient children. At the invitation of the Director General of the Roman Association for Good Building she established a school in a large tenement in the San Lorenzo Quarter of Rome, the famous "Casa dei Bambini", "The Children's House." These were slum children, left to roam about the streets while their parents were at work all day. Montessori's theory of intellectual and social development was almost precisely oppostie to that of Watson. She believed, like Piaget, that the child developed from within and at certain ages "sensitive periods" emerged when the child was most capable of learning. For example the sensitive period for learning order.

> This sensitive period for order begins to reveal itself as the child reaches his second year; and lasts for about two years, being most marked in the child's third year. During all this period the child displays an almost passionate interest in the order of things both in time and space. It seems to him at this stage a particularly vital matter that everything in his environment should be kept in its accustomed place; and that the actions of the day should be carried out in their accustomed routine.[40]

It followed then that the environment must be carefully and dependably ordered. Materials were neatly placed on child sized shelves so that the child could see at once what was available for his choosing. The entire curriculum and materials

contained within the school were adapted to the child's requirements, as outlined by Montessori. She was the first to use furniture that was scaled down to fit a child's body. And most important, the choice of activity was initiated by the child. Each child chose his own materials worked on them and then returned them to their place.

On the surface it may appear that the program was pretty much run by the children, in reality there was a great deal of adult imposed structure. The adult selected the materials to be made available, and decided upon the order in which they were to be used. The adult designed the schedule and (gently and tactfully) outlined the rules for acceptable behavior. When a child had completed an activity, the materials were replaced before a new activity was begun. Color codeing was used or omitted depending upon the concept being taught. In some cases color codeing indicated a group of objects to be classified into one set; in other cases when the object was to teach gradations in size, the objects were all one color to avoid distracting the child from the task at hand, i.e., differences in size.

The entire Montessori concept was almost diametrically opposite to Watson's. She had a fundamentally different attitude toward children that was profoundly respectful of a child's unconscious wisdom of growth. Whatever she did with children was initiated from the child himself, his own style set the pace. Rather than try arbitrarily to impose a

specific content upon the child, she sought to help the child reveal for himself what was already within him.[41] Her attitude was a more humble and reverent one than Watson's, he knew everything and proceeded to tell how to do it. Interestingly enough both points of view have survived to our own day. The Montessori method is experiencing a strong revival, with some adaptation to current educational thought; and the Behaviorist point of view is also receiving a great deal of attention and research money.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The Popular Press

In the popular press, women were emancipated; they had the vote; they were "free"; what more did they want? Why was there so much complaint? But complain they did; concern abounded over the "woman question"; the reading public chewed on it. There was almost as much concern after the Suffrage amendment in 1920, as before it. Another look at the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature may show some trends.[43] Table 2, page 26, lists articles about women in the periodical literature of the United States, 1915-1918 (before the amendment). In total, 677 articles are listed, classified into ten areas of concern. The principal concern, comprising 34 per cent of the articles printed was about women doing work for pay. The next most frequent catagory of the articles, 19 per cent was concerned with women's suffrage. From 1925 to 1928 during the early years of Katherine Whiteside Taylor's marriage, there were 608 about women in the Reader's Guide. Again, the largest portion, 35 per cent were concerned about working women. The tone of some of the articles was: What's the matter with these women, they're never satisfied, always want to leave their natural place. The matter was that the women were

Table 2

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLES LISTED IN THE READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

	Vol.IV, 1915-1918		Vol. 1925 - 1928	
Areas of concern	Number of articles	Percent of total	Number of articles	Percent of total
Feminine appearance	20	3%	17	3%
Socio-Polit. activities	78	11%	196	32%
Suffrage	126	19%	0	0
Women's clubs	20	3%	34	6%
Peace efforts	28	4%	5	1%
Marriage & Family	88	13%	79	13%
Salaried work	233	34%	212	35%
Working wives	7	1%	25	4%
War work for pay	46	7%	0	0
Intellect & education	31	5%	40	6%
TOTALS	677	100%	608	100%

agitating for a less than 70 hour work week, and a pay envelope of more than $4.00 per week. At that time when a "respectable" married woman did not work for pay, 20 per cent of all persons employed were women.[44] The next highest per cent of articles published from 1925 to 1928, 32 per cent dealt with women's social and political activities, following that category, only 6 per cent of the articles cared about women's intellect and education.

A look at some of the titles in popular magazines read by the middle class American public offers insight into the uneasiness about an emerging woman, a woman who wanted to participate in deciding more far-reaching policies than what to cook for dinner. The Literary Digest in January 17, 1925 emits "Hopeless Wails Against the 'New Woman'". This was in the editorial column, and the editors, trying to keep the tone light and funny (?) deplore the invasion of exclusively male territory by females. Women were being admitted into smoking cars, the barroom, the barbershop (bobbed hair was the fahsion), the bootblack stand, the smoking car. What was left?

> Weep, fellow barnacles weep! As it came to pass for the Red Man, so has it now come to pass for us. Our sun is set; our last reservation has been opened....Women will never know what they have taken from us, will they?
>
> In the old days the woman told us that boo.black stands were "awfully bad form" that shoe-polishing was a part of one's toilet, and that the toilet should not be made in public. Well, well! No sooner did Woman shake herself loose from the old conventions (taboos, I think, is the approved word) than what did she do but climb up beside us on the bootblack stand.[45]

Male editorial writers were nervous. Harpers opposed women students majoring, at college, in literature, because this discouraged men from taking that major.[46] A sort of bad-money-drives-out-good principle.

Scribners "The Limits of Feminine Independence" said it was OK to divorce if the husband pulls his wife around the room by her hair. But to divorce because husband and wife no longer care for each other, well, that's too whimsical, and Justice Robert Grant is against it.[47] Lucy Tunis in Harpers calls her article "I Gave Up My Law Books For a Cook Book." She sacrifices a promising career that she and her family worked for in order to create an ideal environment for her husband to do his writing. At first she decided upon marriage and a career, but

> Gradually it came over me that the concentration necessary for the least possible amount of housework was taking away my concentration upon my legal subjects. Had I a job requiring no creative or personal strain, or had I had more physical strength, it might have been possible to go on doing justice to both my jobs. But I found myself too tired to be reasonable and patient, or efficient at either my home work or my legal work.[48]

In other words, low paying, monotonous work is OK for the working class woman in the factory, or filing in an office, or selling in a store, but an upper middle class woman belongs at home where her man wants her. With two salaries and no children, the Tunis' could have had a maid or a cook so that Mrs. Tunis' would not have had to handle two full time jobs.

The article follows with accounts of how this novice housekeeper learned the mysteries of the kerosine stove and

furniture finishing. And in the end she crows,

> My personal satisfaction lies in the home that I love and which is attractive to all our friends, speaking a charm that can be given only by personal thought and effort and love. I realized that my years of labor and all my sacrifices had not been wasted when, one day, a stranger coming into my house, a distinguished Frenchman who had been entertained and feted at homes far grander than our little place, involuntarily exclaimed, "Oh, what a charming home; it is the most charming that I have seen in America; it is so full of peace and sunshine!" As it was raining at the time and the gray sky showed no sun through our many windows, I felt this sun shone from within, and, in that moment of seeing my accomplishment through the eyes of another, I knew what my heart had told me many times--that I had made no mistake in giving up my career.[49]

The reader may wonder why this article was written, did the family need a supplement to its income? With the main source coming from the husband's writing, and with writing, except for a very few, being an unreliable source of funds, maybe Mrs. Tunis decided to help out. Or, could she have had a creative impulse that went beyond the usual, however satisfying, household duties. Somehow the article is not completely convincing.

In 1927 The Literary Digest editors asked, "Do Women Lose Power to Think Earlier than Men?"[50] A survey was conducted among women, and their answers were more intelligent than the question. Mrs. George Mellon of Lawrence, Massachusetts (note no first name) said:

> Since not to think is no disgrace and to feel is a charming virtue, some women, when inertia or disillusionment overtakes them, backslide into the conditions of yesterday, not because they have lost the power to think, they have lost the desire.[51]

Mrs. Arthur Crockett of West Roxbury, Massachusetts says,

> Offhand I should say that your question,...deserves to be placed right side by side with the time-honored one, "Who is the head of the house?" It would be quite as prolific of discussion and equally convincing in results! Why not get some concrete data? Compile a list of thinkers on varied lines and among men of a certain age, and let the women match it; or reverse the process. It would be an interesting experiment.[52]

Mrs. Walter Schwedler, La Grange, Illinois:

> I think that women lose their power to think at exactly the same time that men do--when they cease to value and to use that power. But, since men are rather prone to read only what they want to read, while most women read what they think they ought to read (most women being honest and used to giving up what they want to do anyway!), women are more apt to be "up" on many things, particularly around election time, that their friends and men companions depend upon them to keep them, the men, informed so much of the time.[53]

In this set of articles the content usually gives women their due, albeit grudgingly, or humorously, or with milk surprise. It is the choice of title which questions the worth of women. In 1927 apparently it gave no offence for a national magazine to question the longevity of women's ability to think. The implication that women may stop thinking relatively soon is in the title; only after reading the article is the woman vindicated, meanwhile the title, like the smear headline, has done its damage.

Good Housekeeping in 1924, asked, "Is Woman's Suffrage A Failure?"[54] Ida Tarbell, not altogether in favor of the Women's Movement wrote an impartial intelligent argument indicating that women behaved with more integrity than men,

but that, actually, it was too soon to tell. Meantime, the implication is in the title, Women's Suffrage might be a failure. The little woman had better stay in the kitchen and between the sheets where she belongs.

The articles, on the whole, talk to whoever is willing to read them; they give the popular magazine a certain intellectual status but what really get read, or what gets read by more people, are the stories. And the stories in the women's magazines told women that their aspirations should be home and family. The theme was often about a dutiful and long suffering wife who wonders whether she should have married this unappreciative lout, or whether her daughter may be making the same mistake she made. Then at the end, after an automobile accident, or after overhearing a phone conversation, or accidentally coming upon a diary, or after 40 years of marriage, she comes to realize that she really <u>was</u> appreciated and so it was, after all, worth the suffering, scrimping, thoughtless family, or whatever. The message was loud and clear: Stay home, don't complain, sacrifice, and for God's sake don't try to go where you don't belong, that's only for the beautiful young girl who gets chosen by wealthy, handsome, kindly, loving, devoted Mr. Right, and no hanky-panky in bed, while she's waiting.

This attempt at keeping the natives down is nicely put by a poem written by a reader and sent into the <u>Ladies Home Journal</u>.[54]

Oppressed by common tasks, I cried:
"Why cannot I too paint or play,
Or sing or write, invent or build?
To bring forth beauty that would live
I'd gladly give my humdrum life.
And here I putter all my days
As safe as any scullery maid
In spite of all my dreams of good."
I slowly turned and baked some bread
The best I could.

Then in my heart clear answer flashed:
"Hush, Foolish! Art is anythin
Which truly serves the need of an;
And God made manna for the Jews
Who otherwise were lacking strength
To write the Law, to build the Ark
And storm their Milk-and-HoneyLand."
"Your bread's just great!" the children said.
My artist soul had found its work,
I bowed my head.

by Helen Cain

To summarize: As far as women were concerned, most of the political attention was being (slowly) directed toward protections for the working woman who was victimized by unsafe working conditions, long hours and low pay. The argument in favor of protective legislation included protecting her morals. Low pay and long hours led to fatigue, fatigue led to physical disability, and physical disability led to a deterioration in morals.[55] Ultimately society would have to pay the cost. It is interesting to note that the argument against regulating working conditions were that women were now the equal of men and to interfere with industrial owner policy was to interfere with the autonomy of citizens, and contrary to the U.S. Constitution. So the Constitution was

used to protect the freedom of working class women to below subsistence.[56] By comparison, the dissatisfaction of the educated housewife was trivial. But to the woman enduring the captivity of house and home, it was excruciating, especially so when most of the media were telling her she should revel in her good fortune. Naturally, she then thought that something was wrong with her, that she was not as happy, not as smiling as the women in the magazines.

In some ways, the position of women in society was like the position of God. Each was treated as a necessary institution, worshiped and kept to a particular time and place. How annoying to have women and God cluttering up the place when there is important work to be done. Concerns about women could be dismissed the way God is dismissed. Her (His) ways are mysterious and it is impossible for mere men to try to fathom them. She performs certain indispensible functions for which there is at times an almost unbearable craving, but once performed, she'd best slip into the background, like God, so that the men can get on with the more important business of running the world.

Counter Trend

But, still in every era, in every culture there is a counter current, and for women there were a few sensible voices, usually, other women who wrote for the radical or reformist press, or like M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College,

women who spent a considerable amount of time speaking in rebuttal to a male-dominated college system. In a 1913 speech to Mount Holyoke College's 75th anniversary, she said,

> Women scholars...have spent half a lifetime in fitting themselves for their chosen work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative. At Bryn Mawr we have never closed the engagement of a woman professor who wished to marry. Several years ago I persuaded a young woman scholar whose husband was called to Bryn Mawr to take up college teaching again. She told me afterwards that it was like paradise on earth to shut herself into her study in the college library among her books for long hours of intellectual work. How many men scholars would there be if we compelled them to make such an inhuman choice? As a result of this unsocial treatment of women there is a large and ever increasing body of celibate women and men in every civilized country.[57]

Although unhappiness is real enough, its cause and solution may be so subtle and so camouflaged into the culture, as to escape detection. An anonymous article in the New Republic describes the gradual eroding away of a feminist's aspirations for a marriage of equality.

> In six years of married life I have gradually but surely descended from that blithe enthusiastic cocksure young person I was eight or ten years ago, to the colorless, housewifely, dependent sort of female I used to picture so pathetically and graphically to my audiences....[58]

She describes herself as a fortunate woman who married an enlightened man with the understanding that she would be able to pursue an independent kind of life. With time, the resolutions faded through a passive resistance and the necessity of social convention (e.g., checking account in

husband's name, husband is willing to learn some household tasks, but then does them badly etc. etc.). But they love each other very much and he is a fine man

> I am a fortunate woman...but I am also a profoundly unhappy one. For I am outside the stream of life and only a spectator. At present I am merely background--pleasant, important, perhaps necessary background, I admit--for two other individuals. (There is a child also). I have no separate, integral life of my own. I long for engrossing satisfying work. Instead, my days are devoted to a round of petty tiresome details, with the benefit and comfort of these two individuals as an end. I, who was once of such a pronounced, assertive ego, am now become supine, self-effacing.[59]

Another attempt to cope with this unrest came from Smith College's Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests.[60] It was founded in 1925 to discover and test out ways to conserve all interests of educated women, or better to promote the continuity of those powers, skills or interests they may attain in college or later. Serious concern was expressed about the educated woman's disuse after marriage "of special powers which it (sic) has cost much in money, time and effort to achieve, an element of social waste, and a source of much personal regret, in some cases mounting to unhappiness." The organization's hope was one of "finding principles and methods for the continuity of women's intellectual or professional interests in harmony with their family responsibilities."[61]

The inertia of the times was related to what was considered woman's natural proclivities, and her occupation was defined within the boundaries of her maternal, wifely role. G. Stanley Hall, a respected scholar, was also a prolific writer, not only in journals and books but for magzaines as well.

He felt that the ideal education for a woman was one which prepared her for marriage and maternity. Not only were her reproductive organs different from men, but every cell in her body was different, and accordingly, her mental traits were basically different from man's, and best not be overstrained with notions that will make her disatisfied with her manifest destiny.[62] He felt that for those young women who were so unfortunate as to have to work, the occupation they choose should ideally be one that trains them for a future of motherhood.

> If we now survey the occupations of the vast army of American women who are not contributing to the population, but who are in shops, as well as office girls, teachers, and the long list of those in wage-earning vocations open to young women--we find that few if any of these occupations, unless that of nurse, are better calculated to keep alive and develop more of the potentialities of motherhood ot to vicariate for its functions that the kindergarten can do and should do. Few occasions in which women engage unfit less for family life or involve less change of spirit and ideals if marriage comes.[63]

KATHERINE WHITESIDE TAYLOR

On December 24, 1897, in Louisville, Kentucky, Katherine Whiteside Taylor was born to ideal parents and into an idyllic setting for her childhood. Her mother, Adelaide Schroeder Whiteside was, until the age of 26, the first woman principal of a normal school. "In Kentucky, the rules were very strict, but then she married; she committed the sin of marriage." Married, Mrs. Whiteside had to resign. "No married woman could be a teacher or work in a teachers' school." "You shouldn't take a job that rightfully belonged to men who had to support a family. They wanted women to stay in their place."[64]

John Keats, when describing Dorothy Parker's education, at about the same time, in the East, says:

> In those days before the first World War, no well bred young woman was expected, or even allowed, to go to work, unless bleak fortune required her to do so. If worst came to worst, and a young woman had to work in order to eat, the most acceptable task for her was to teach music for that would imply the dignity and cultivation to which she had been born. In such cases, it was then hoped that Mr. Right (who, of course, had been saving himself for the sweet young girl he sould one day marry) would shortly find her on the job and rescue her from a life of gainful employment.[65]

So for Katherine's mother to hold a job, a fairly radical school administration was needed to give its consent, for a single woman, not for one who was married. That would have been going too far.

So Adelaide Schroeder resigned when she became Mrs. Whiteside and continued to live within the constraints of an upper middle class Victorian setting. But within that setting she managed to continue to be active in the community. She participated in the Louisville School Board and persuaded it to introduce the first public school kindergarten into the school district. She was also a well-known public speaker on education, women's suffrage, and on Theodore Roosevelt's campaign committee. In 1916 she joined Mary Antin aboard Charles Evans Hughes' campaign train during his candidacy for President.

The rule against middle class women working was lifted in time of crisis when a husband died or could not longer support his family. Twenty years after they were married, Mr. Whiteside was ill, and his business was bankrupt. In such a situation Mrs. Whiteside gladly went back to work. She became the principal of a public school in Louisville.

Katherine's father, Henry Robert Whiteside, matched his wife in intellect, but, for him, the process of self development was different, quieter. His formal education went as far as the sixth grade, and the rest, he did himself. He was, throughout his life, a great scholar. He read Greek and the classics and taught them to his young daughter.

Katherine was as familiar with the Greek legends and the names of the Greek gods as she was with nursery rhymes and the names of her friends. She lived in an extended family. An uncle across the river had four children and there was much visiting back and forth. At home there were her maternal

grandparents and another uncle.

The household was a comfortable one with servants and a grandmother who adored her. "Everyone waited on me hand and foot." All of the housework was done by maids, in fact, in the Whiteside social circle a woman who did her own housework was declasse, whispered about by the child Katherine and her friends.[66] For the most part, Katherine thought of herself as an only child. She had an older brother who died when she was three years old, and so she became the adored princess who was petted and approved, without any little prince to cramp her style. Her adult models taught her to value the intellect and consistently admired her various projects, which were always successful. She was an outstanding pupil at school, and it was natural that by the time she entered college she had, within the romantic context of her times, achieved a certain independence of thought.

She moved from being the darling of an extended family, prominent in Louisville, to becoming an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin. There she became a "rather important person," active on the campus, a member of Theta Sigma Phi and president of the journalist society. In addition, she was active in the Women's Peace Movement, this, during World War I when it was unpopular to be opposed to war. The decision was made out of her own thinking about the sin of killing. Her family and firends all supported the war and "were out waving flags," while Katherine left the Episcopalian Church and joined the Quakers. It was imcomprehensible to her that a Christian Church, the Episcopalians, should approve of the

slaughter of other people, other Christians at that. With the Quakers and their silent meetings, she felt very much at home, possible, she speculates today, with a sense of recognition. The feeling of recognition is based upon her discovery that one of the Whitesides who left England during the War of Roses (he was on the "White side") moved to Ireland where he joined the Friends' Church.[67] Her campus peace group included 11 other members, and in the fervor of the times there was a suspicion that the group was engaged in espionage. Her sorority held a hearing and she was exonerated because her father had recently purchased a Liberty Bond for her, and her friends felt that under those circumstances, she couldn't be a traitor.

The social pressure against opposition to the War is described by Blum et. al. in the National Experience:

> A week after war was declared, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information to movilize public opinion...(and) worked out with newspapermen a voluntary censorship that kept the public reasonably well informed while safe-guarding sensitive information....The CPI stressed two major points. One argued, as Wilson did, that the United States was fighting only for freedom and democracy. The other maintained that the Germans were all Huns, diabolic creatures perpetrating atrocities in an effort to conquer the world for their lust and greed.... They hinted that German spies had an ear to every wall....They implied that all dissent was unpatriotic and that pacifists and socialists had hidden sympathies for the enemy.[68]

This was more than Katherine could stomach. Her own experiences with the large German population in Madison testified to the nonsense that the hysteria of the times produced. Katherine, used to following her own inner voice about the conduct of her

life, continued her friendship with a German lady who lived in Madison.

Her scholarship was, of course, outstanding, she graduated with the highest honors, including Phi Beta Kappa and a scholarship for an M.A. in English. This was not only an honor but a "first" for the University of Wisconsin's English Department which had never before awarded a graduate scholarship to a woman. "But I let it go." Why? Because she was in a turmoil about her immediate future, especially about her engagement to a young man who was fighting the war in France. It was a question of marriage or a career. It could not be both.

Although she had a firm commitment to peace, nevertheless those who served in the war were less abstract, and when personally known, she felt a human commitment to them as well. Paul Taylor was among the soldiers about to be shipped to France. He had been an outstanding student of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, known for its Economics Department. He was in his senior year, and he was in love with Katherine. Katherine, reared in a romantic era, knowing that he may not come back alive, agreed to the engagement. It wasn't that she didn't want to marry him; she had led a sheltered life and was inexperienced in relationships with young men her own age. At the same time she was a romantic, and here was a brave young man, about to go off to the war, perhaps never to return....It would be too cruel to refuse to promise to wait, and so fine to send him off with a joy to

look forward to upon his return, if he returns. Paul came back. It had been a risky business. He was wounded in Chateau Thierry; gassing had injured his lungs and necessitated a careful choice of climate. Nevertheless it was a sparkling homecoming with a speech about the War at a University Convocation.

Katherine was being graduated, and she still was in a state of indecision. There was the scholarship, but more compelling was the need for time to think. She had a college friend in New York, and Paul accepted her request for more time.

For a newly graduated female English major, job opportunities were restricted. The Head of the English Department thought she might be able to become an editor at one of the New York publishing houses. But that led to becoming a writer and she didn't want to become a writer. She wrote well--during her career she has written several books, many articles, and has been invited to write chapters in books related to her field--but she didn't want to write as a career.

Eventually she worked in the Henry Street Settlement House, a highly acceptable occupation for a well bred, educated young lady. Today, in the seventies, we take a condescending attitude towards the Lady Bountiful who performs acts of charity among the poor, and then returns to her comfortable home, satisfied that she has lent her efforts to lifting up those who are beneath her. But we need to remind ourselves that at that time there were no government subsidies, for the

impoverished, no social security, no food stamps. Federal interest in the well-being of its disadvantaged citizenry was at the level of legislation to regulate large trusts and monopolies, and the bare beginnings of Union recognition.[69] Social work programs were sponsored by private philanthroposts.[70]

Practically the only resources that "people without" had to turn to were those that were sectarian groups that gave temporary care to the newly arrived immigrants. A beginning of government subsidy for the poor occurred in 1905 when the New York City Health Department inaugurated a program of complete physical examinations for school children.[71] Settlement Houses addressed themselves to the social and intellectual life of the poor, mainly the immigrant poor, and established libraries, playgrounds, kindergartens, and held classes in a wide variety of subjects.[72] And this was where many young Anglo-Saxon ladies put forth their efforts. The women's magazines of the day such as Ladies Home Journal, Women's Home Companion and Good Housekeeping placed their heroines in settlement houses--something like an early version of VISTA--and there they met wealthy male settlement house workers, married and lived happily ever after. Never did they fall in love with someone from the neighborhood, for instance, an Italian, Russian or Polish immigrant. The immigrants in the magazine stories served to provide a colorful background to an emerging romance, or to give a sinister tinge to the suspicion of law-breaking. Actually, the experience was deeply satisfying, their settlement house experiences awakened

people like Eleanor Roosevelt to harsh social realities that became incorporated into their own perception of reality and needs of the society in which they lived.[73]

In any event, the primary reason for Katherine's stay in New York was to come to a decision. Paul had no inkling that there was doubt in his fiancee's mind, and Mother Whiteside was anxious for a wedding. In spite of Mrs. Whiteside's enlightenment, she was a part of her times, a romantic, and Paul was a very eligible bachelor. She wanted to see Katherine safely married.

The decision was that a promise must be kept, and he was, after all, a fine person, kind, industrious, and had been accepted for graduate work and a teaching position in the Economics Department of the University of California, in Berkeley. California was chosen because of the weakened condition of Paul's lungs; the climate was considered beneficial.

After the honeymoon, three people moved to California: Katherine, Paul, and Paul's widowed mother. Paul and his mother were very close; his father died when Paul was seven years old. Now, he was a devoted son and his mother looked after him carefully, and although she did not live with the young couple, she exerted a strong influence over their lives and conduct.

For Katherine, being married was an extraordinary change in the structure of her life. At college she enjoyed being at the hub of many timely and stimulating activities, but during their first year of marriage she felt isolated,

lonely, unhappy, and "didn't know a soul." Her husband was not aware of her isolation. He was busy working on his doctrate, attending seminars and out many evenings on campus. Actually, the newly married couple were not deeply companionable. He was a loving person to his capacity, as Katherine was to hers, but they did not become a combination that could be attuned, each to the other's music.

There was the house to be cared for, and Katherine knew that it should be shining and immaculate, just like the home she knew as a growing child. But in her parent's home all this was taken care of by servants, and Katherine never learned how. It occurred to her that she might take a few courses, but Paul's mother was dubious of this, she said, "Oh then you would be too tired to get Paul's dinner when you came home." "And I took it seriously...it was the ethos."[74]

She was mystified at her unhappiness, as so many women were, for so many years. One is usually a part of one's time. There are very few who can step out of the ethos of their day, look about and then decide upon a course of action. Katherine, like the rest of us acted within the expectations of her class and culture. She noticed, about her husband, "I think he was terribly tied to his mother. He had sort of taken his father's place." "We had a kind, polite, pleasant comradship, but I really didn't have any idea of what a close comradship with a man was." But in her past experience, she had been a joiner and an organizer. Women's clubs were

an accepted and approved activity. There was, for instance, the "Thirty-Five Club" for the wives of veterans who had been wounded in World War I. Each wounded serviceman received $100 a month plus $35 for his wife. And so the "Thirty-Fivers" decided to become a club. There were also faculty parties for the brilliant teaching assistant and the women were very kind to the young bride. And, most influential was the College Women's Club which eventually became a branch of the American Association of University Women.

After two years of a pale marriage a very vivid experience occurred with the birth of the first child, a little girl. Katherine describes it as "A tremendous experience, an illumination that made me realize I never knew what love was before. Like a great infinite beauty and infinite joy. When this little baby came and when it was put into my arms, a perfect little creature, her little forehead, her little hands, her little lips, these perfect little crescents...this was the supreme experience I'd ever had yet. Being married was nothing.... Everything I had was going into guiding this little child. It was an archetype experience for me."[76]

And so, a meaningful life, one with joy and purpose resumed itself. True to her resolution, the new mother began by engaging the most competent pediatrician she could find, an over-zealous behaviorist of the John Watson School of thought. (See Section I). "I took literally the teachings of a very strict, severe, English spinster pediatrician who adhered to the behaviorist point of view....You mustn't kiss the baby, you must feed her on the moment, no sooner and

no later....I used to stand weeping next to a shrieking baby because I mustn't pick her up....I had to do what's right for the baby, no matter what it cost me."[77] There were mits to prevent thumb sucking; the baby was strapped down so she wouldn't get up after nap etc. The result of all this may be related to the fact that this child had more anxieties than the other two.

Perhaps the most basic need that Katherine Whiteside Taylor was aware of in those early years of marriage and parenthood, was a need for adult companionship. In her book, Parents and Children Learn Together, Katherine may have been talking about herself when she says,

> Feelings of loneliness and of wasting time and talent are particularly acute today because most young women have come from situations where classmates or co-workers provided considerable adult companionship and appreciation. One woman expressed her frustration in the following words: "Taking care of my children takes all my time and strength--but not all my mind. Every morning when I pour the dishwater down the drain, I feel my life going down the drain, too! I know in my mind rearing children is the most important thing one can do, but I've gotten so I can't feel it any more. I have no aptitude for training for it. I've lost all sense of significance in my life.[78]

Could a highly intelligent English major, graduated with honors, cope? Turn to her husband? Not really, Katherine Whiteside Taylor, points out that,

> It is not surprising if a young wife after a day of feeling lonely and inadequate, shows her resentment by saying to her husband, who may also be weary from a day of heavy work, "I'm just as tired as you are, and I still have to get dinner and put the children to bed, while all you have to do is stretch out in that chair." Her husband may in turn resent her lack of sympathy for his need for

> reassurance and encouragement and for what he has gone through in the competitive working world; he may also feel like a secondary parent left out of the daily happenings in his children's lives.[79]

The book was written in 1966, and by that time it was possible to consider an alternative to housekeeping for young mothers. On page six she suggests that "Some young mothers turn to outside jobs and regain a sense of adequacy and significance and reestablish some contact with their contemporaries more than for economic advantage." But she considers a job to be more than a therapy, she thinks of outside work as part of a woman's fulfillment in her society:

> There is a great need for more part-time jobs to give mothers better opportunity to combine contributing in the outside world with family responsibilities, and it is significant that universities are providing courses training women for outside work and that employers are beginning to cooperate as well.[80]

If, in Katherine's mind, this had been possible in the twenties, the course of the cooperative nursery school might have been somewhat different; perhaps not, because Katherine did not want to leave her children. She wanted very much to be involved in their education and to understand their developmental stages. To that end she initiated the formation of the Child Study section of the East Bay Branch of the American Association of University Women. Through her contacts at the University and the kind of studying this encouraged her to do, she became "a sort of specialist in Child Development," and was chairman of the group. The group studied for two years in the field of Child Development. They met once a month with a speaker who also acted as a resource person.

In the course of their studies the women heard about nursery schools, the McMillan Sisters' school in England was intriguing, but even more exciting was the notion of a cooperative nursery school. The first co-op in the United States had been started by a group of 12 faculty wives at the University of Chicago.[31] They received professional guidance from the University, and carried on the school under a trained teacher. At that time for themselves, in many cases to engage in Red Cross work for the war that had begun.[32] After a few years, the University of Chicago took the school over so that it was no longer a cooperative.

The Berkeley women also learned of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests at Smith College, formed for the express purpose of providing uninterrupted periods of free time for mothers. A second reason in the minds of the Smith College group was to find out whether it was possible to establish such an enterprise without the help of a Foundation. They felt, that, in general, a group of trained women in any given locality could not expect to receive funds from an endowed institution; that the school must be the result of a cooperative effort on the part of the parents themselves. The plan was to keep records of the organization and costs of the school so that other groups wanting to launch a similar enterprise would have some information available.[33] Still another cooperative nursery school known to the Berkeley group was that started at Cambridge for women in the Harvard

community; another school had been known as Schenectady, New York, and another in Los Angeles.[84]

The Children's Community

In 1925 and 1926 the Berkeley group was seriously making plans for their own school, the previous efforts in other parts of the country had been abandoned or taken over by the universities, and changed into another kind of school, so there were no co-operative schools the women could visit. However, professional persons with experience in Child Development were available. Among these were Dr. Edna Bailey from the University of California Education Department, a pioneer in presenting Child Development as a serious study. At that time, in 1925, the University of California was starting the Institute of Child Welfare. The University President was President Cambell who "could not understand studying children, but he could understand welfare."[85] (See Table 1, page 14, for the comparitively large proportion of magazine articles concerned with child welfare.) So the new institute in which Dr. Bailey worked was for the welfare of children, not for the study of children. Other persons from the University of California were Dr. Mary Cover Jones and Dr. Ritter who was doing research on children's responses to various materials such as sea shells, and Dr. Herbert Stolz who was interested in the development of people and their ability to help themselves. He believed with Dewey that one learns most by doing and he felt that this was a fine opportunity for a group of women to learn by doing. A few years later, in his forward in a pamphlet about the activities

of these women in their nursery school he said:

> The experience of these mothers emphasizes the vital connection between responsibility and growth. Discussion and demonstration are preliminary, and any program of parent education which does not result in the practice of responsibility is but looking over the threshold into the promised land.[86]

So the Berkeley women's group made elaborate plans for a nursery school to be called the Children's Community. The premises upon which the Children's Community was based were as follows:

1. A group program added greatly to the children's social development.
2. Mothers needed time to themselves, in Katherine Whiteside Taylor's case she wanted to write.
3. By acting as a group, the mothers could provide more for their children than could acting alone.
4. The mothers keenly felt the lack of a community. "We wanted to recapture in our modern times some of the values that we thought there had been in the villages in earlier days, of the close neighborliness and so forth, and we did it. We did it indeed. We became very close, twenty families in that first group.... It was a push toward communal living, really."[87]

After two years of study the group was ready to start their school, and during these two years the point of view of the group shifted markedly from the Watsonian approach to Dewey's learning by doing.

Initial funds for the new nursery school, the Children's Community, were obtained from the Scripps Foundation and the Institute of Child Welfare through Dr. Edna Bailey. The originial staff consisted of a trained supervisor, Miss Helen Pennock, who had been trained at the Ruggles Institute in Cambridge. Her salary was $200 a month. Katherine Whiteside

Taylor was asked to be the Parent-Director and she was paid $75 a month. In addition to her organizational responsibilities, she taught dancing and rhythms and planned the noontime dinner menus. There were also two to three Mother-Supervisors at $50 a month, a cook at $45 a month and a janitor who was paid $35 a month. The cost per child was $30 per month. The total expense for operating the school during the first year was $3,218.49. Outside support was decreased during the second year so that the paid supervisor could no longer be paid; the mothers were on their own. Eventually by about the fourth year the school became entirely self-supporting. Financial responsibilities became better defined as the group became more experienced. Tuition was required to be paid even though children were absent; the mothers had to pay for substitutes when they were unable to work at the school; and a fee of $10 per year was assessed for registration.[33]

Once the launching of the school was assured, the initial hurdle was to find a suitable site in Berkeley, which had by then become quite urbanized. A remnant of Berkeley's farming days was found in a half-acre parcel of land that included an abandoned farm house and barn. The property extended from the 1100 block on Walnut Street to Shattuck Avenue. It belonged to two school teachers who were interested in the project and rented it to the parents for $40 a month. True to the experience of most schools which want to operate in residential neighborhoods, the next door neighbor, a woman

in her sixties, objected to the school because she felt that the mothers were trying to avoid the responsibility of caring for their own children. She said, "I gave the best years of my life taking care of my children, and I'm not going to let other mothers out of it!" She was won over, though for eventually, 30 neighbors, including the objector, signed a petition requesting the City Council to permit the school to open.[89]

The daily schedule was similar to a traditional nursery school's allocation of blocks of time for free play indoors and out, but the length of the day extended beyond what is customary in the cooperative nursery school today. The children stayed for lunch and a nap and returned home at 4 PM. During the second year, the parents decided that a nap at nursery school was unnecessary, and so the children went home after lunch, at about 1 PM. Special arrangements were made for those whose mothers had full time employment and needed to stay all afternoon.[90]

Katherine Taylor was rather pleased with her efforts in the nutrition program. She studied nutrition in college and planned the menus. At the end of the first year, the youngsters enrolled in the Children's Community had gained, on the average, two pounds more than the children at the Institute of Child Welfare which was run by the University. "Because we gave them good nutrition, a good dinner, the others gave them a little lettuce leaf, or something of that sort. Mothers are interested in feeding their children."[91] This was a significant achievement

to be proud of during that period of considerable interest and progress in nutrition.

There were 25 children enrolled in the school, from two to six years of age, and twenty mothers who participated in the program. Each mother worked for an entire day, once a week, assisting the director, the supervisor, and the cook in turn.

The first year was difficult, with inexperienced mothers and a supervisor whose previous experience did not include a cooperative school. The moment of truth came when mothers with fantasied ideas about curriculum and child management attempted to put those ideas into practice. There were many such moments of truth thrashed out at parent meetings and consistent policies needed to be agreed upon. The shakedown cruise was a stormy one, some mothers left the school, others remained and adjusted finances, schedules and curriculum. By the second year they were over the hump, a shorter day had been instituted, and the school was on its way to becoming self-supporting.

As new mothers joined they were required to spend three days observing the group before assisting with the children.

> During the first two days they fill in blanks designed to give perspective on groups of children and methods of handling them. They also write out what they would do in typical problem situations. On the third day they participate in a discussion led by the chairman of parent education and receive sets of routine suggestions and are permitted to fill in the behavior record of an individual child, including a minute hand record of the exact time it took the child to do one or more necessary routine acts.[93]

A word about the daily behavior records that were kept on each child: They seem to have been reflection of the current concerns about children during the twenties. Habit training was very much in the air, and health and nutrition was a serious concern. Charts for each child dealt with bowel movements and wet pants, "involuntary urination"; the child's appetite was charted, including "food eaten" and "food returned". His crying was charted, and his social adjustment to other children, whether he played near or with other children. Also a separate behavior record was kept for each child. The items included: "Tension", "Assertiveness", "Self-Reliance", "Cooperation in the Regime" language articulation and verbalization. The physical development of each child was recorded and his social conflicts and resolutions were chartered.

It is interesting to note that the careful charts connote a rigid behavioristic approach, but in actual practice the atmosphere and teaching style was humanistic and flexible. This may be a reflection of a transitory phase during the twenties and thirties in the direction of a more child-oriented and child-initiated educational approach during the preschool years. The emphasis was on the child's personality and social development. To what degree was he open to the nursery school experience? To what degree did he avail himself of the materials and activities? Did he play with other children? How many? Was he a loner? Did he interact cooperatively? Did he seem to enjoy coming to nursery school? Was he able to make a comfortable separation from

his mother? Did he turn to other adults for help?

The curriculum itself may be best described as having been strongly influenced by Montessori, Dewey and Freud. This curriculum is still in practice today in what are known as "traditional" nursery schools, or "child development" nursery schools. It drew inspiration from Montessori, Dewey, Gesell, Freud and the progressive school movement. It saw the school's task as one of creating an environment in which the child would develop according to his inner timetable, development which would progress at an orderly rate, unless the child became handicapped by unresolved inner conflicts. It was the adults' responsibility to create an environment and an emotional climate that was conducive to emotional growth. "Feelings are facts" later came to be the slogan in many schools. The stress at the Children's Community was an acceptance of emotional expression with a constructive channelling of aggressive energy. Once the child became disencumbered of his fears, angers, and anxieties his energies were released to benefit fully from the planned curriculum.

The parents at the Children's Community were not greatly concerned about later academic achievement. Of course, they wanted their children to do well in the public schools, but as upper middle class families with ties to the University, they naturally assumed that their children were quite capable of managing in the public schools. Children's Community parents became oriented toward the Progressive School movement and focused more on the creative process in the program; the arts

were a vital part of the curriculum, not to be imposed upon the child, but to be made available to him. Specific techniques were not taught, but there were a few ground rules such as keeping the paint on the paper, trying to remember to put the brush back in the container corresponding with the color used. The housekeeping area was another essential part of the program for dramatic play useful in developing an understanding of basic male-female traditional roles, and for playing out concerns and anxieties about one's own status in the families. Materials such as blocks were rather open so that the child could create his own structures in his own way, with the adult as a resource person but not as one who imposed rules about what anything was supposed to look like. It was always the process rather than the product that was important. The finished structure or picture was never important, nor was the accumulation of academic knowledge considered as important as the development of attitudes of curiosity and enjoyment of the experiences that the school had to offer.

At that time, the keen interest in cognitive development was not present. In fact, the parents were cautioned against pressuring their children in intellectual experiences, lest they make their children anxious or rebellious toward academic tasks. Piaget of course was investigating intellectual growth during the twenties, and his findings would have supported a play curriculum, but he was almost unknown, and considered unimportant by most educational psychologists in the United States.

The intellectual component in social and emotional adjustment was almost unrecognized for many years. It's not that cooperative nursery school parents were anti-intellectual, on the contrary, they were highly intellectual and attached great importance to the educational leaders of that era. But among the intellectual leaders, psychoanalytical teachings were very influential, and created many anxieties in parents. Parents saw potential neuroses at every turn. It was almost a backlash following the Watsonian behaviorism. They worried that pressures for social contormity might create serious resentments, guilt feelings, hostilities and anxieties that would handicap their children in later life. They worried about oedipal and sibling conflicts, and they saw the nursery school as an arena for the resolution of these conflicts, so that by the time the child entered the public school, his capacities could be released and he could attend to the academic tasks at hand.

The mothers who were involved in this first cooperative nursery school, and the mothers in future cooperative nursery schools may not have realized that they were in a critical period of their own lives. As young married parents in good health and free of serious financial worries, in an upper social class, they were being told by all the news media that they should feel fulfilled and happy. But they shared with Katherine Whiteside Taylor, a profound malaise. They were lonely in their nuclear families, unsure of themselves as they

tried to follow strict regimes for their children, under the delusion that they were bring their children up "scientifically" and to do it scientifically was the very vest way, while emotionally they suffered as they watched their children's sufferings. The mothers were intellectually stultified, missing the stimulation they were accustomed to during their own years of classroom education. They overburdened their husbands by attempting to receive from them all of the satisfactions from which they felt shut off, and usually at the wrong times of the day, in the morning when he had to rush off to work, or in the evenings when his energies were exhausted from having spent the day interacting and being stimulated by his collegues.

Classes and discussion groups for mothers were an ideal solution. In the clubs that Katherine Taylor organized out of her own needs, mothers with the very same frustrations found the adult companionship and intellectual stimulation which they craved. They found satisfaction in a socially acceptable fashion. They had a purpose, a goal, and they were growing while maintaining their traditional nurturing role. They had a sense of participating in the mainstream, more than that, they felt themselves to be in the forefront of educational thought. In organizing a cooperative school they recognized themselves as pioneers in new educational philosophy, one in which they as parents fully participated in their children's

school experience.

As the project grew, the parents gained unexpected competencies in leadership, administration and community relations. The parent cooperative movement grew. Katherine Whiteside Taylor left the Children's Community when her second child was born, but by then the group was self-supporting; she had shown herself to be a leader in the best sense of the word. The group itself had assumed the leadership role. By 1930 a second parent cooperative, the Berkeley Hills school had begun. Both schools, the Children's Community and the Berkeley Hills school are still flourishing today and are considered model cooperative nursery schools.

The Parent Co-Op Movement

Whether the parent co-op movement is dated from 1916 with the start of the University of Chicago parent cooperative nursery school, or 1927, the opening of the Children's Community is chosen to designate the beginning of a new trend in preschool education, the reasons that many parents give today for enrolling a child in a co-op are various: The location is convenient, the tuition is less than that of a private school, a car pool can be arranged, and for some, they are interested in learning more about child rearing or are intrigued with the notion of a school that is cooperatively run by parents and teacher. Many who enroll before they have a grasp of the cooperative nursery within a few months may discover that they are deeply involved in the school's activities. For some, it has become

a turning point in their lives; they later become leaders in their communities. Some mothers make decisions about their careers and education which affect the pattern of the rest of their lives.[94] A closeness develops among the parents, and life long friendships are formed; the shell of the nuclear family is cracked and a more related existence emerges.

There is recurring argument to the effect that parent cooperative nursery schools suffer from being run by only a single professional, the remainder of the staff being amateurs. However, the non-professional status of the staff is more than offset by the benefits children experience in having their mothers' new insights, skills and attitudes which spread to their home lives and create a consistency in their living patterns. In schools run by professionals only, with no parent participation at all, the counter-complaint arises that the school does one thing and the home does another. Accomplishments at school are often undone at home, and although the professional school personnel doesn't like to admit it, the reverse also takes place. Chances of a successful program are enhanced when parents take part in every aspect of planning and implementation. It is no accident that Head Start has a strong parent component that goes well beyond "rubber-stamp" quietly aquiescent parent groups.

Besides arguments or speculation about value of a parent cooperative nursery school, there is the hard evidence of the success and growth of the cooperative nursery school movement. Katherine Whiteside Taylor alone initiated schools in Long Beach,

Seattle and Baltimore. The movement has spread to Canada in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. There are over 200 groups in New Zealand. Groups have sprung up in London, Hong Kong and Ceylon.[95] It is impossible to know how many cooperative nursery schools there are in the United States and Canada; they often spring up undiscovered by other already established groups. In 1966 the Parent Cooperative Preschools International estimated that there were over 1500.[96]

An essential element in the rapid growth of the parent cooperative is pointed out by Katherine Whiteside Taylor when she says that, "Their success has not depended upon the continuance of the same leadership over a period of years, but rather upon the continual development of new leaders, often with continuing and vigorous growth when the pioneering and succeeding officers go on to other activities and new ones take their places."[97] The movement has a life of its own, and as it fulfills compelling needs for parents and children it grows.

As the movement grew, the cooperative spirit grew beyond the activities of parents within each individual school. Groups began to get in touch with each other, to exchange information and experiences. Local councils were formed, first in 1944 in Silver Spring, Maryland; then in 1945, Seattle and British Columbia; California formed a council in 1948, and so it grew, like the schools themselves.[98]

The first tangible evidence of a national organization was a newsletter, Parent Cooperative Preschools of America, with 300 subscribers at the start, and edited by Katherine Whiteside Taylor. The newsletter was an excellent source of

information, news and ideas. But the cooperative nursery school movement is a primarily human movement. Nothing takes the place of face-to-face meeting, and on August 22 and 23, 1960 at Columbia Teachers College in New York City, the American Council of Parent Cooperatives was formed. In 1964 Parent Cooperative Preschools of America changed its name to Parent Cooperative Preschools International and in 1970, the newsletter achieved the status of a journal.[99]

The Whiteside Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education

The Canadian ties are strong, and the Katherine Whiteside Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education in Baie d'Urfe, Quebec is symbolic of the close association the parent cooperatives in the two nations feel for each other. The ideas for the center and the person whose sustained energy was indispensable throughout its construction, who has sparked the enthusiasm necessary for its financial and community support is Betty Jordan, past president of the Quebec Council of Parent Participation of Preschools and president of the Katherine Whiteside Taylor Centre Board of Directors. The architect, Irene Steffen was a co-op mother. It is a jewel of a building on two arpents[100] of land on Lake St. Louis, donated by George E. Fritz, a local resident. The town of Baie d'Urfe agreed to provide maintenance in return for housing its Library, Arts and Crafts Center, and office space for the Victorian Order of Nurses. A nurse from the Order is available and keeps

the medical records of the children who are attending the Centre.[101] It has become a cooperative in the best sense of the word, with activities available for the entire community.

The group was in touch with Katherine Whiteside Taylor throughout construction of the Whiteside Taylor Centre. At the dedication of the building, her remarks included the sentence, "There is no other institution of learning that could make me feel so honored, so deeply and humbly moved in having it named as my 'Godchild'."[102] The design of the building embodies the cooperative philosophy, an interdependence of parts that make a unified whole. It is a spiral design with a central, almost floating, staircase that leads to an observation room overlooking all of the classrooms. The entrance level houses the library and offices; a short curving ramp goes to the classrooms that are at the outer perimeter of the building, each with a level entrance to the yard. There are two nursery classrooms for twenty children in each; with two part-time classes a day, a total of eighty children are served. There is also a day nursery classroom that serves 15 children per day. At the center of the level that houses the classrooms there is the kitchen, neat and cozy. Then there are the Arts and Crafts and pottery rooms, and an all-purpose auditorium gymnasium, large enough to seat 175 persons.[103]

EPILOGUE: THE CO-OP PERSONALITY

A word about Betty Jordan, President and Administrative Director of the Quebec Council of Parent Participation Preschools: Her style is similar to Katherine Whiteside Taylor's. She inspires, initiates, organizes, but always, she plans to have members of the co-op take over the leadership, and assume more and more responsibility, as she gradually withdraws; at the point when a project is able to function and flourish without her, she goes on to something else. She came as a cooperating parent and has said that she received so much it seemed the most natural thing in the world to return the gift and allow the cycle of receiving and giving repeat itself with other parents, beyond the classroom, into the community, and beyond that.[104] At this writing, Betty Jordan has begun her graduate work in Environmental Studies. She writes,

> My work and learning in environmental studies has made me acutely aware of the seriousness of environmental problems within the natural, social, political worlds and I have been reinforced in the direction of documenting and evaluating programs of cooperation (everything from farming to co-op nursery groups) with the goal of presenting principles of cooperation as one of the answers to solving evironmental problems. This decision will no doubt direct my course for a good number of years. However I am relieved and satisfied that I have found a road; rather than tackling something different I am only extending what I have already experienced. It's as if I have come full circle approaching the cooperative philosophy from a new angle.[105]

Her resignation from the Quebec Council will be effective

September 30, 1972, when the Whiteside Taylor Centre will enter a new phase of leadership.

Katherine Whiteside Taylor has remained an active participant in the cooperative nursery school movement and has written two books related to it: Parent Cooperative Nursery Schools[106] and Parents and Children Learn Together.[107] Another book, Do Adolescents Need Parents?[108] was also her doctoral dissertation. She has launched nursery schools and taught and given lectures throughout the United States, Canada, New Zealand, England and other parts of the European continent. Her courses on personal development are related to Martin Buber's philosophy, Yoga contemplation and Jungian thought. She is at this time a practicing psychotherapist in San Francisco.

Katherine Whiteside Taylor's work goes well beyond the span of her own life and the lives of those she touches. She sets the ripples in motion and they move in wider and wider arcs.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

[1]The conversations began January 14, 1971 and are still in progress. They are documented on tapes that are in the author's possession.

[2]John B. Watson, Behaviorism, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1925), p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 4.

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[5]Geraldine Joncich, "Thorndike, Edward L.," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, XVI, 10.

[6]P.L. Broadhurst, "Watson, John B.," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, XVI, 484.

[7]"Watson, John B(roadus)," Current Biography, Oct. 1942, III, 80-82.

[8]Watson, Behaviorism, p. 3.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Broadhurst, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, p. 486.

[11]Watson, Behaviorism, pp. 92-100.

[12]Ibid., pp. 11-43.

[13]Ibid., p. 40.

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[15]Jean Piaget, The Child's Conception of Physical Causality, trans. by Marjorie Worden, (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1930). (Original French edition, 1927).

[16]B.F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

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[18] B.F. Skinner, Walden II, (New York: Macmillan, 1948).

[19] Watson, Behaviorism, p. 248.

[20] J.B. Watson, Psychological Care of Infant and Child, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1928).

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[22] Current Biography, p. 81.

[23] Kenneth Macgowan, "Profiles: The Adventure of a Behaviorist," The New Yorker, IV, October 6, 1928, 30.

[24] Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, IV, 1915-1918 and VII, 1925-1928.

[25] John H. Earle, "Discipline in the Home," Good Housekeeping, Vol. LXIII, July, 1921, 47-48.

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[27] F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Imagination and a Few Mothers," Ladies Home Journal, June, 1923; John Mason (ed.), The Ladies Home Journal Treasury, (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1956), pp. 121-124.

[28] Watson, Psychological Care, cover page.

[29] Book Review Digest, p. 807.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] In Behaviorism, p. 82, Watson stated that left handedness is a habit that was formed in utero by the baby's position.

[34] Watson, Psychological Care, p. 71.

[35] Ibid., p. 81.

[36] Celia Stendler, "Psychological Aspects of Pediatrics," The Journal of Pediatrics, IV, January 1950, 122-134.

[37] Josephine H. Kenyon, "Health and Happiness Club," Good Housekeeping, July 1926, 100.

[38] Miriam Finn Scott, "The New Riches of Play," Good Housekeeping, Dec., 1921, p. 18 ff.

[39]E.M. Standing, Maria Montessori Her Life and Work, (Fresno, Calif.: Hollis & Carter, Ltd., 1957), p. 24.

[40]Ibid., p. 119.

[41]Maria Montessori, The Absorbant Mind, (India: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1949).

[42]Clark A. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 30-58.

[43]Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Vols. IV and V.

[44]Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, p. 62.

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[49]Ibid., p. 177.

[50]"Do Women Lose Power to Think Earlier than Men?", Literary Digest, XCVI, Dec. 3, 1927, 8 ff.

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[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., p. 68.

[54]Helen Cain, "Manna," Ladies Home Journal, January 1926, p. 31.

[55]Chambers, op. cit., p. 64.

[56]Ibid., pp. 59-84.

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests, The Nursery School as a Social Experiment, Address at 1927 Commencement Conference of the Institute, (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1928), p. 9.

[61] Ethel Puffer Howes and Dorothea Beach, The Cooperative Nursery School, What It Can Do for Parents, (Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests, Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, Feb. 1928), p. 9.

[62] Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators, (Paterson, N.J.: Pageant Books, 1959), p.410.

[63] G. Stanley Hall, "The Pedagogy of the Kindergarten," Educational Problems, (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1911), p. 9.

[64] Katherine Whiteside Taylor and Libby Byers, tape recorded conversation, January 24, 1972, in the author's possessionn.

[65] John Keats, You Might as Well Live, (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1970), p. 17.

[66] Taylor-Byers tapes, January 24, 1972.

[67] Ibid., July 28, 1972.

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[69] Ibid., pp. 537-562.

[70] Chambers, Seedtime, "The 'Cause' and 'Function' of Social Work in the 1920's," pp. 84-106.

[71] Robert H. Bremner, "Introduction of Complete Physical Examinations for School Children," Children & Youth in America, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, II, 1971), p. 915.

[72] Blum et. al., National Experience, p. 472.

[73] Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971), pp. 98-100.

[74] Taylor-Byers, taped conversation, January 24, 1972.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Katherine Whiteside Taylor, Parents and Children Learn Together, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), pp. 3-4.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[81] Guy Montrose Whipple (ed.), The Twenty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Vol. XIV, (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 29-30.

[82] Katherine Whiteside Taylor, "Fiftieth Anniversary History of the Parent Cooperative Movement, 1916-1966," speech made at the Parent Cooperative Preschool International meeting in Washington, D.C. (mimeographed).

[83] Howes, Cooperative Nursery School, pp. 10-11.

[84] Taylor, "Fiftieth Anniversary Speech."

[85] Taylor-Byers tapes, January 24 to August 27, 1972.

[86] Herbert R. Stolz, "Foreward", The Children's Community, by Katherine Whiteside Taylor, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1929).

[87] Taylor-Byers tapes, January 24, 1972.

[88] Taylor, The Children's Community, p. 7.

[89] James L. Hymes, Jr. and Katherine Whiteside Taylor, taped interview, to be distributed in 1973 by Childhood Resources, Inc., 4105 N. Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Va., 22203.

[90] Taylor, The Children's Community, p. 8.

[91] Taylor-Byers tapes, January 24, 1972.

[92] Miss Helen Pennock of the Ruggles Street Nursery School in Boston, Mass.

[93] Taylor, The Children's Community, p. 13.

[94] I did, and so did many of my colleagues, e.g., Rose Weilerstein, active in promoting legislation for young children, also Director of the Berkeley Hills Co-op; Lucille Gold, President of the Northern California Association for the Education of Young Children and college teacher; Jan Mulvy, Director of Sleepy Hollow Cooperative Nursery School;

Barbara Wilkinson, formerly Director of the Mill Valley Parent Participation Nursery School; Marion Berstein, formerly Director of the Laurel Hills Cooperative Nursery School; Jo Eggenberger, Director of the San Rafael Cooperative Nursery School; Mrs. Marjorie Noga, Co-Director, Ross Valley Cooperative Nursery School; Betty Jordan, President and Administrative Director of Quebec Council of Parent Participation Preschools.

[95]Taylor, "Fiftieth Anniversary of Parent Co-ops," p. 5; Parent Cooperative Preschools International, 1972 Directory, (Baie d'Urfe, Quebec, Canada: Whiteside Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education), p. 12.

[96]Taylor, "Fiftieth Anniversary of Parent Co-ops," p. 5.

[97]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[98]Hymes and Taylor taped interview.

[99]Ibid.

[100]An old French term used in Quebec, meaning close to an acre in area.

[101]"A History of the Whiteside Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education," unpublished (mimeographed).

[102]Hymes and Taylor interview.

[103]"Building Description"--see Appendix I, pp. 7-8.

[104]Personal interview with Betty Jordan in Baie d'Urfe, June 28, 1972.

[105]Personal correspondence. Betty Jordan, September 9, 1972.

[106]Katherine Whiteside Taylor, Parent Cooperative Nursery Schools, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954).

[107]Katherine Whiteside Taylor, Parents and Children Learn Together, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1947).

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

WHITESIDE TAYLOR CENTRE FOR COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

Building Description

A.	*9-G	2 Nursery Classrooms
	10-G	1 Day Nursery Classroom
		Coatrooms, Lavatories--one each for each classroom
	12-G	Kitchen
	7-G	Isolation Room with Lavatory
	14-G	Indoor gross play area
	20-G	Outdoor gross play area
B.	12-S	Observation area for each classroom
	8-G	Teaching Classroom
	13-S	Staff Lounge
C.	5-G	Administration Offices
	4-G	General Office and Reception Area
	19-G	Public Coatrooms and Lavatory
	14-G	Meeting Hall for Parents
16, 17,	18-S	Baie d'Urfe Library for Adults and Children
	17-G	Baie d'Urfe Arts and Crafts Room
	16-G	Baie d'Urfe Potters Club
	18-G	V.O.N. Office
	15-G	Necessary Mechanical and Electrical Space

* - Numbers correspond to floor plans. G - Ground Floor Plan
S - Second Floor Plan

Description

A. Nursery Classroom: for class of 20 children (3 - 5 year olds) two part-time classes per day, i.e., accomodation for 80 children. Total area: 1120 sq. feet. When the area for the vestibule, coatroom and lavatory is

excluded, the remaining area is 930 sq. feet which more than meets the present minimum classroom standards of this age group of 38-40 sq. feet per child. The window area is 10 per cent of the floor area--again meeting standards. There are 300 cubic feet of air per child governed by the amount of openable window area which meets the standard 5 per cent of the floor area.

Floor: The floor is at two levels--the upper level is used for big muscle play (750 sq. feet) and is covered with a resilient rubber tile. This floor surface was chosen in order to protect the children from accidents and at the same time allow a hard enough surface for large muscle activities such as block-building. The room is divided from a lower level by three big steps. This area (180 sq. feet) is carpeted and attracts quiet activities such as story telling, creative movement and science discussions. A large sink is located in the classroom and is accessible for children's activities. All floors in these classrooms are heated by radiant heat.

Walls: Concrete block finished in attractive washable colours. Plenty of space is provided on the walls for mounting of displays.

Ceiling: Exposed cedar roof deck and B.C. fir beams.

Coatrooms: Each classroom has an exit and entrance which opens directly to the fenced-in outdoor play area. Directly off the vestibule in each room is located a coatroom

which allows the children to attend to their own needs. These are special built-in cubicles with place for coats, boots, and hats, mitts, etc. Since the coatroom is within the classroom, the amount of adult supervision needed is at a minimum.

Lavatories: Each class is provided with a lavatory with two toilets--once agin meeting the standards of one toilet to every 15 children. All fixtures are at child height and suitable for the children to use without adult help. All partitions are at a four-foot height once again facilitating adult supervision. There is a double sink which is used not only for the regular hand washing, etc., but doll bathing and toy boating! Since the lavatory is within the classroom the children have easy access to the facilities.

Special Features: All equipment within the classrooms is moveable, thus allowing complete flexibility within the programme. The main feature about these rooms is the very light airy atmosphere, yet intimate home-like appearance. All materials used are warm yet washable.

Day Nursery Room: (15 full-time children--8 AM - 6 PM) All features are similar to the above classrooms with the exception of a special room off the classroom for sleeping. Storage space is also provided in this room for cots and other special day nursery needs.

Kitchen: Used for preparation of hot lunches for full-time students and snacks for part-time students. The

kitchen is accessible to all classrooms.

Isolation Room with Lavatory: This small room is part of the general office area and is to be used to isolate a sick child from the rest of the children and for special visits by the school nurse or doctor.

Indoor Gross Play Area: The auditorium has been designed with the thought in mind that on rainy days the children will have a place to do big muscle play on specially designed equipment.

Outdoor Gross Play Area: A playground has been designed on the "Adventure Playground" theme. Polly Hill of Ottawa was consulted with respect to the special features of such a playground. There is free access to water and sand. The grounds are contoured to allow hills for climbing and sliding. There are two sections to the playground, one immediately fenced-in area outside each classroom and a larger area which is used by the public as well.

3. Observation Area: A unique feature above the building is an observation room which is located above the classrooms and affords an opportunity for observers to see into all classrooms and the sleeping area. Observing is done through one-way glass, thereby ensuring objective viewing. This room is equipped with audio equipment which brings the sounds and voices from the classroom to the observers through the use of a system of microphones and earphones. Off the observation area is a

lounge used by the staff and by discussion groups attending observation sessions.

C. Other Building Features: There is an administration office for the QUEBEC COUNCIL OF PARENT PARTICIPATION PRESCHOOLS and PARENT COOPERATIVE PRESCHOOLS INTERNATIONAL as well as those working directly with THE WHITESIDE TAYLOR CENTRE. There is a teaching classroom designed for lecture groups of 30 to 60 people. A special feature of this room is a one-way glass panel which affords eye-level viewing of a nursery classroom.

The auditorium, with a capacity of 175 people, is used for parent-teacher conferences, workshops and parent meetings, as well as community activities. In this room there is a special projection booth equipped with a one-way glass to allow for observation into the indoor gross play area.

Located on the ground floor are rooms for the BAIE D'URFE POTTERS, ARTS AND CRAFTS, an office for the VICTORIAN ORDER OF NURSES and public coatrooms and lavatories.

On the second floor is the BAIE D'URFE CHILDREN AND ADULT LIBRARIES.

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COST OF OPERATION

The total expenditures for operation of the Berkeley Children's Community during the first year amounted to $6,218.49. This amount included the items: rent, maintenance and alterations, equipment, supplies, food, staff salaries, and help. The cost per child per month was $35.33.

Salary Scale

Trained Supervisor (first year only)	$200.00 per month
Director-mother	75.00 per month
Mother-supervisors (two or three)	50.00 per month
Cook	$45.00—$50.00 per month
Janitor	30.00 — 35.00 per month

Outside help was received to the amount of $350.00 per month.

The second year expenses decreased to $4,149.56, making an average cost per child per month of $20.04. The monthly outside assistance amounted to $125.00, less than half of that received the first year.

The third year a total of $5,320.80 was expended for a nine and a half months' year, but with the increased enrollment the cost per child per month amounted to only $19.31. Outside assistance was still $125.00 per month.

Financial Regulations

1. Registration fee is $10.00 a year, or $5.00 per term.
2. Tuition fee is $12.50 per month.
3. No refunds are made in case of absences.
4. Mothers unable to put in four hours per week, must pay a substitute fee of $2.00 for each day missed, or make up time lost on a day acceptable to the staff.

ORGANIZATION

The mothers of the children enrolled in the Children's Community are the governing body when they sit in monthly meetings, at which time problems are discussed, financial and governmental regulations are agreed upon, and ratifications are made of all actions taken by the Executive Board, which has been elected at the April meeting.

THE CHILDREN'S COMMUNITY

Food Record

Date..... Observer.....

Name of Child	*Food returned*	*"Seconds"*	*Appetite*	*Lunch begun*	*Lunch ended*	*Total time*	*Remarks*

Daily Chart

(From these charts a semester record for each child is made up)

Date	*Weather*	*Appetite*	*Social Contacts*	*Toys Used*	*Other Material*	*Health*	*Involuntary Elimination*	*Crying and Adjustments*	*Social Notes*

Elimination Report

Week beginning.....			*Bowel Movements*			*Urination, Involuntary*		
Name	*Date*	*Time*	*Taken as Routine?*	*Ask to go?*	*Involuntary*	*Asleep*	*Play*	*Meal-time*

THE CHILDREN'S COMMUNITY

Behavior Record

(This to be filled out by new mothers on third observation day, and by cooperating mothers during free moments of their service days.)

Child..... Observer.....

Period covered..... Date.....

Activity

Very quiet; stands or sits still much of the time.	1	2	3	4	5	Hyperactive, constant pressure of interests. High energy output.

Tension

Low tension, listless, sluggish.	1	2	3	4	5	Nervous, restless, high-strung.

Assertiveness

Easily dominated, never fights back, little iniative.	1	2	3	4	5	Assertive, selfconfident, bold, often bossy.

Self-Reliance

Dependent on others, a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	Independent, resourceful, competent in new situations.

Social play

Avoids playing with others. A spectator, or spends time in individual play.	1	2	3	4	5	Engages readily in group activity. Prefers social modes of play.

Cooperation in Regime

Negativistic, frequently violates the "rules", hard to manage.	1	2	3	4	5	Cooperates readily, accepts suggestions, and shows suitable initiative.

Language: Tendency to verbalize

Rarely speaks, vebal responses difficult to elicit.	1	2	3	4	5	Talkative, constantly chatting with others, or giving monologs about own activity.

Language: Articulation

Speech is at the level of "baby talk" slurring and inaccurate.	1	2	3	4	5	No obvious defects in speech forms; clear and confident enunciations.

Language: Structure

Frequent elision and confusion of parts of speech.	1	2	3	4	5	Adequate vocabulary and sentence structure; good choice of words.

Type of Play

(Note period covered when possible.)

Time	*Constructive (type of material used)*	*Big muscle activity*	*House keeping*	*Imaginative*

Social Adjustment

(Note period covered when possible.)

Play alone	*Play near others*	*Play with others*	*Play co-operatively*	*Leaders in Play*

General Adjustment

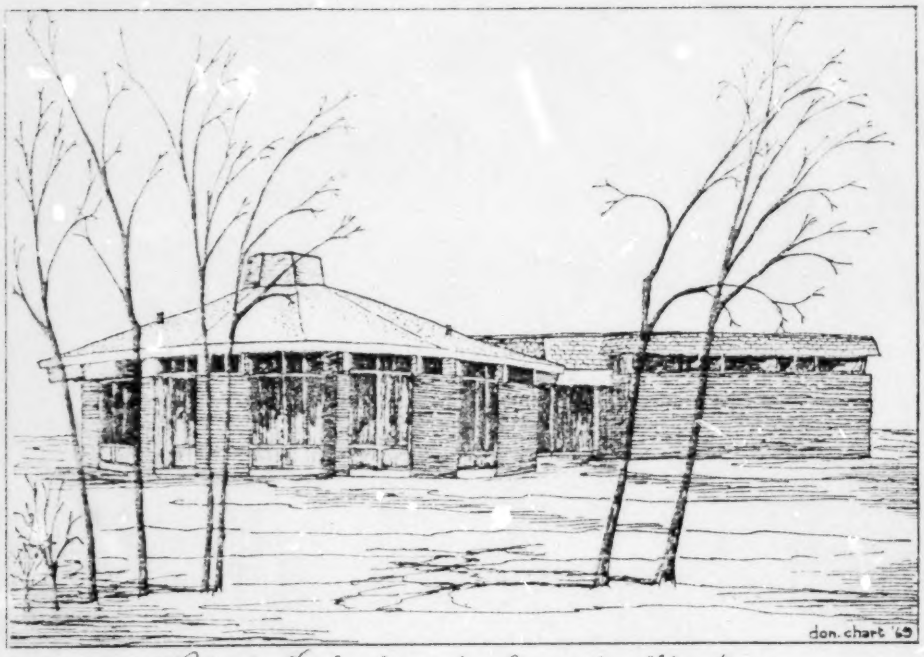
Cry or whine often	*Show temper*	*Look sober*	*Look contented*	*Obviously happy*

Questions for Mothers

(To be filled in by new mothers, after their third observation day and presented at a conference with the parent-education chairman.

What do you think should be done in the following situations?

1. One child tries to take toy from another who had it first.
2. One child hits another without provocation.
3. Child refuses to come when called.
4. Child objects to buttoning clothes.



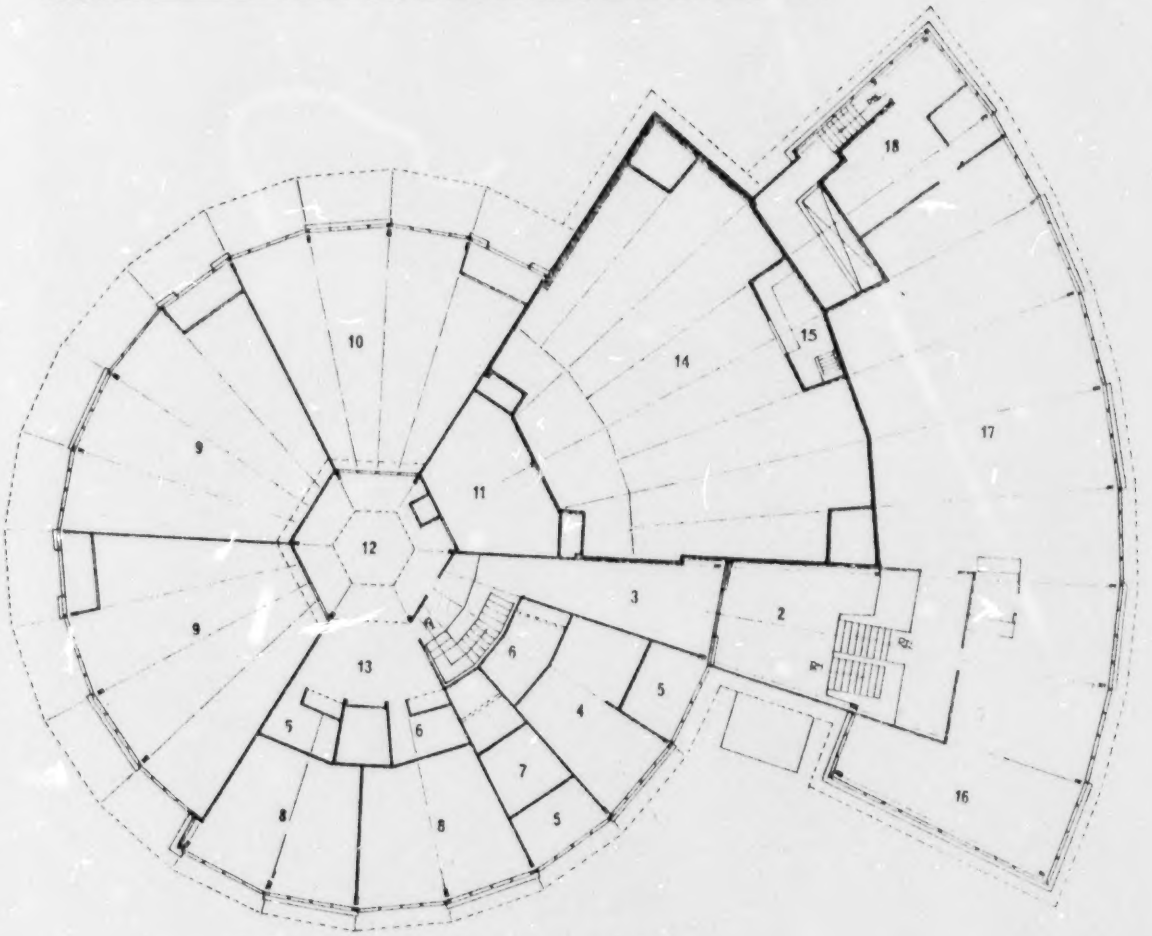
Whiteside-Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education

WHITESIDE TAYLOR CENTRE
for Cooperative Education
20551 Lakeshore Road
Baie d'Urfe, St. Anne de Bellevue 850
Quebec, Canada
Tel. 453-3291 Area Code 514

The Whiteside Taylor Centre for Cooperative Education is owned by the Quebec Council of Parent Participation Preschools. It houses two model Nursery Schools, a Day Care Centre, Auditorium, Kitchen, and an Observation Tower with one-way glass windows and microphones into each classroom. The building also holds the Baie d'Urfe Library, Arts and Crafts Centre, and a Victorian Order of Nurses office.

The Centre officially opened on June 17th, 1969, and was named in honour of Dr. Katherine Whiteside Taylor, of California, a pioneer in the field of Cooperative Education.

WHITESIDE TAYLOR CENTRE FOR COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

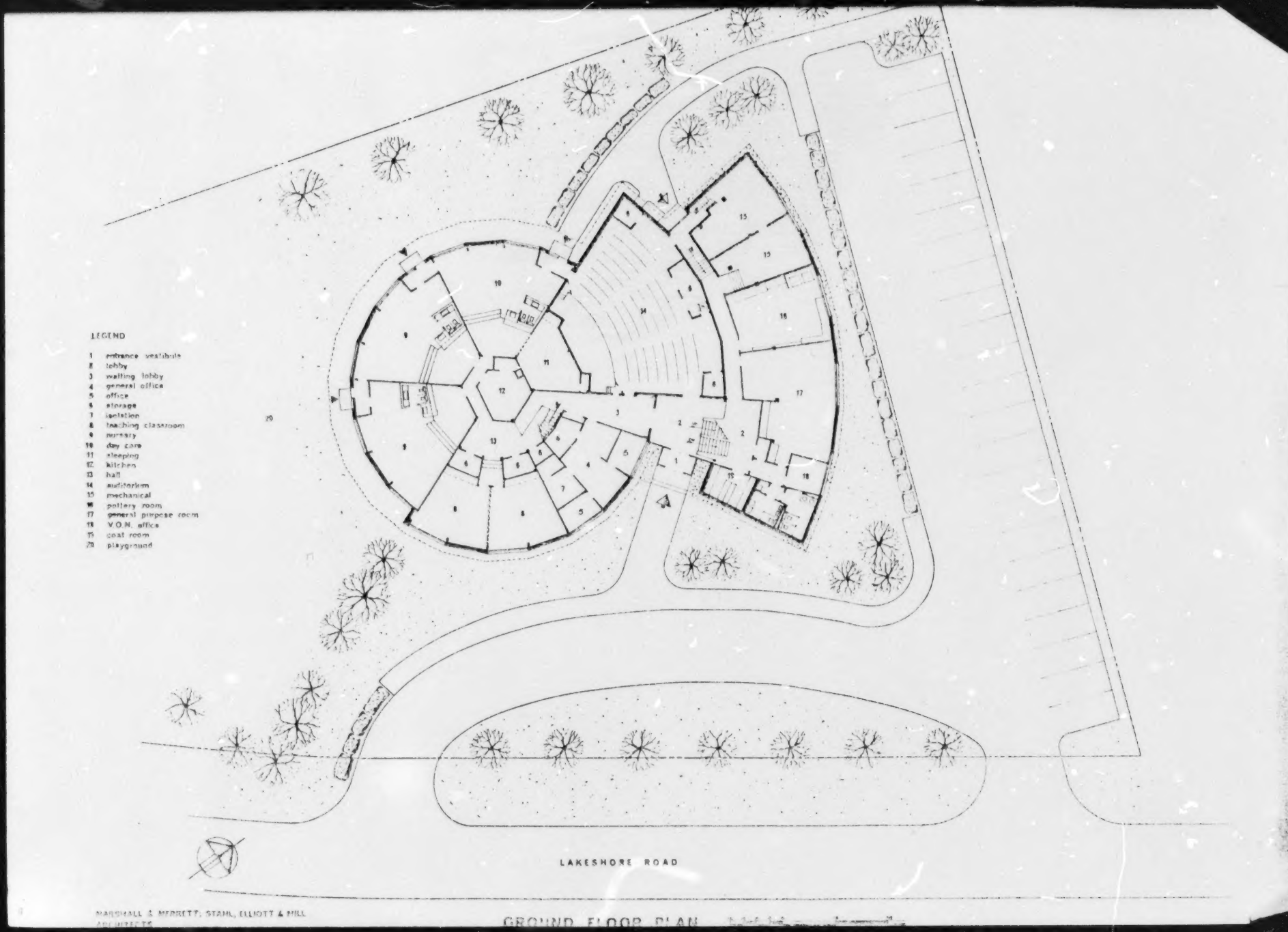


LEGEND

2 upper part of lobby
3 upper part of waiting
4 upper part of general office
5 upper part of office
6 storage
7 upper part of isolation
8 upper part of teaching classroom
9 upper part of nursery
10 upper part of day care
11 upper part of sleeping
12 observation area
13 lounge
14 upper part of auditorium
15 projection room
16 childrens library
17 library
18 workroom

MARSHALL & MERRETT: STAHL, ELLIOTT & MILL
ARCHITECTS

SECOND FLOOR PLAN



MARSHALL & MERRETT, STAHL, ELLIOTT & HILL
ARCHITECTS

GROUND FLOOR PLAN